[727] the Bahutu women became abaja (servants). The little girls had the
567 same fate as the women. The boys were treated like the Bahutu (1).

1. Cf. also: Personal Status, the Family and the Clan, p. 4; Marriage, p. 14; Birth and Filiation, p. 25; Government and Administration, Nationality, pp. 70 and 71; Right of War, (see below).

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[701] The warriors did not constitute a separate caste. All the
564 able-bodied men, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, had to take arms when the country was invaded.

[791] Similarly, the soothsayers, sorcerers, rain makers, and the numerous court officials at Nyanza did not make up closed castes.

16. Right of War

721 In the past, Ruanda has had many great wars with all the neighboring countries, particularly with Karagwe, Gissaka, Kivu, and Urundi.

When the frontier guards (abanyarugerero) noticed suspicious troop movements, they notified the Mwami who summoned his
[781] Council of Ministers and then consulted the auguries. If these were favorable, war was decided on. An intumwa was sent to the frontier of the two countries, and crying out from a distance, declared the opening of hostilities. The Banyarwanda warriors, both Batutsi and
● 726 Bahutu, fought together in regional campaign corps. The supreme chief of the army chosen for the duration of the war from among the abatware had the title of umugabe w'ingabo. During the battle the troops were preceded by abahenyi, entirely naked Bahutu who shouted insults at the enemy.

The Mwami sent an emissary to summon the enemy to surrender. If the enemy capitulated, a messenger accompanied by one from Ruanda came to notify the Mwami of the surrender and then returned to his country.

727 The male prisoners were usually massacred, and their women and children led to Ruanda. Booty, consisting mostly of cattle, was

[86] Chapter 7

Political Organization, Law, Social Organization, Clans, Totemism

1. War, Monarchy, Feudal System

721 Insofar as there is a historical tradition, the history of the Barundi shows that under the rule of strong and energetic kings this people performed extraordinary warlike deeds which for a long period protected the country from the oppression of black or Arab conquerors (Ruanda, Mirambo, Wangoni [Ngoni], Rumalisa). It is only in recent decades with the decline of the dynasty and the lack of a great compelling personality that the warlike spirit and comprehensive organization has become weakened, so much so that the German occupation met no special obstacles. The present-day Barundi, i.e., the Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa, are not inclined to conduct war against an external enemy, in spite of their violent, quarrelsome temperament and their innumerable internal feuds. They are peaceful if they are left in peace.

In the past, too, during the period of their political strength, the Barundi did not conduct big wars for the purpose of expansion and conquest as did the Wangoni and the Wahehe [Hehe]. The usual practice was rather internal guerrilla warfare by one Murundi chief against another and the eternal clan and family feuds within their own country. Matters became serious only when foreign aggressors invaded the country. In such a case there were first several minor attempts to repel the aggressor, and then the entire people finally rose up behind their king and expelled the invader. This happened, for example, to the Arab leader, Rumalisa, and his slave-hunting bands (p. 165 [not translated]).

[648] Our government seldom considers it necessary to intervene to any great extent in the internal feuds and petty wars which still occur frequently. These quarrels are seldom of a very 726 bloody nature. If a chief finds cause to quarrel and complain [154] against his neighbor, he first seeks to make him give in peacefully by means of "sorcerers." If this method fails, he sends

726 his men against him without any declaration of war. The war party consists almost exclusively of Bahutu and Batwa. The Batussi provide a few leaders but in general keep carefully in the background. The party threatened by aggression is soon informed of the approaching danger by his friends, and he either evades it or through his men tries to damage his enemy's property and possessions. Each seeks to take as many cattle as possible from the enemy, to injure or kill as many men as possible, to plunder and burn the homesteads in night attacks, and to capture the women. Rarely is there an open battle between the two hostile parties, and seldom more than a dozen persons are killed [87] in such a war (No. 19, p. 276). The principal form of conflict, as it was among the heroes of Homer, is to [754] hurl insults at each other or to use sorcery aimed at hurting or killing the enemy from a distance. The medicine man pro- [789] tects his own people through magical charms (stones, pieces of herbs, or bones, all of which are worn suspended on the body) from being wounded or bewitched.

726 701 Of course the efforts and expenditures are greater in the case of feuds between great chiefs or wars conducted by the king against invading enemies. Until a few years ago the Germans, too, were regarded as such enemies. In such a case all the men and youths who are sufficiently strong must take up arms, [722] while the women, children, and cattle are taken to safe hiding places. The bodyguard (abagendanji), which every great chief has even in peace time, is always first on the spot. These are specially picked men whom the chief keeps on a beef diet and [714] who are dressed in a kind of uniform, a white leather apron. Their leader, always a Mutussi, is provided with a special distinctive shield. Frequently the bodyguard consists entirely of Batwa. When the war drum is beaten, all the other warriors [411] assemble quickly. Each is armed with two spears, one bow, and four or five arrows. In order to frighten the enemy, the [714] warriors paint their faces, their skulls, and many other parts of the body with white and red lines, dots, and spirals, using pulverized clay. They thus manage to present a really fearful 726 sight. Then the medicine men also enters the picture,

726 performing all kinds of sorcery in order to hurt the enemy. The chief accompanies his troops to the battle field only in really big wars when it is a matter of survival for the whole state. [782] Sacrifices to the protective spirits are made on the border stream -- [810] the borders are mostly formed by streams -- poisonous powders are spread on the paths used by the enemy, the future is read 787 from the entrails of sheep and chickens, and arrangements are 726 made accordingly. If possible, the sorcerer even arranges for one of the holy cattle (ingabe) to be sent against the enemy. If it penetrates the enemy's ranks this is regarded as a good omen to which even the enemy will submit; however, if it turns back in front of the enemy, it is regarded as a bad omen, and negotiations for peace are begun (No. 19, p. 277).

If in spite of all this an open battle takes place, one side will soon take to flight after a few men have been killed or 727 wounded by spears or arrows. The victors then pounce on the homesteads and burn them, after looting everything of value, especially the cattle. Upon their return, the women receive them with jubilant trilled cries. This marks the beginning of a feast with dancing, drinking, and eating meat, which often lasts several weeks, as long as the chief provides beer and cattle. If the enemy chief has been captured, he is usually killed. Peace is hardly ever concluded. Usually a feud between chiefs 721 is passed on to son and grandchild, according to the unwritten laws of vendetta. Thus, there is continual strife in the country unless a stronger hand enforces the peace. Our colonial forces [648] have had to do this several times and with success whenever there was a dangerous disturbance of the peace in our colony. Yet, according to a very wise governmental ordinance, the German Resident is not permitted to intervene in unimportant internal conflicts. The same applies to Ruanda where bloody quarrels occur often enough. For this reason these fights will continue for a long time, [88] until with the progressive effective occupation of the country by our troops they die down completely.

642 Until the German occupation, Urundi was a unified kingdom for many centuries. Of course this is true only with respect to its historical development and name, for in reality quite a

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2. Throughout Ruanda, in principle, a new hut is taken over in the name of a spirit (a dead relative) whose favors are desired.

It is also in his name that one takes a wife (kumulongorer' abazimu).

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[343] This is why these women are called abaterampundu, that is, "those who utter cries of joy."

726 The duties of the aBatchaba are often identical to those of their brothers, the aBasingo, whom they assist in bewitching the enemy with teratological beings who are driven before the hostile army. Like the aBiru they also make drums.

825 The totem of the aBagessera is the wagtail, a bird of good
342 omen, which is consequently regarded as a member of the family.
644 Hence the power of the Bagessera to call this bird when needed. At court and throughout the land, there is a custom whereby no one may enter a new hut until the wagtail has made an appearance. The bird must at least flit about or hop on the flattened ground where the hut is to be built or on the hut itself. One may even wait several days if necessary /461/ rather than risk the misfortunes which invariably befall those who do not take this traditional practice into account. At the capital, therefore, theBagessera are in charge of instigating the appearance of "their relative" (mwene wabo), the congenial bird, whenever a royal building is put up.

To achieve this they take some embers from their home and light a fire before the new hut.

They sit nearby and whistle in a special way to catch the attention of their totem.

825 The wagtail is highly regarded by the Banyarwanda. In story and song it is called "the bird (inyamanza) from the region of Mabera," a once famous village inhabited by the Bagessera (1). It is located

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825 1. The regard in which the wagtail is held is the subject of a charming tale. The wagtail

411 Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only
[514] as children's toys.

In this connection we must also mention the women's canes
411 (muterere), because they are not infrequently also used as weapons.
481 The shoe of the spear is here replaced by an iron ferrule 40 centimeters long, the lower three-fourths of which forms a square point in cross section. The upper fourth forms a socket into which the end of the cane is driven. The ferrule of the upper end of the stick is very similar to the shoe of the spear and ends in a knob. [188] Finally it should be pointed out that Ruanda spears are in many respects identical with those of Abyssinia, while the cane used by the women occurs in the Sudan, for example, among the Maka.

411 Braided grass rings are tied to the uprights of the huts for hanging the spears inside. The spears are stuck vertically into these rings, much as we stand up our umbrellas. The rings (rutagara) that hold the spears are no different from the rings placed under containers.

Bow, Arrow, and Quiver. Bows are not seen as frequently as spears in Ruanda, probably because they are carried only on journeys, on hunts, at offerings and ceremonies, and on war expeditions. The bow is a very important and much used weapons which also fits the character of the people. The Munyaruanda is
●[725] not enthusiastic about hand-to-hand combat in closed ranks with spear and shield, in the manner of the Nilotes, although he does not actually avoid this type of warfare.

In Ruanda we can observe two entirely different types of bows. The Batwa bows are completely different from those of the rest of the inhabitants.

The bow used throughout the country by both Batutsi and Bahutu is a typical example of the so-called East African form, and, like Dr. Kandt, I shall simply refer to it as the Ruanda bow. This bow is more than one and a half meters long, is round in cross section, has long points but gradually tapers off at both ends, has no notches, and is strung [189] with a cord made of animal tendons or of fibers of the nimisse plant. The bow is curved so much that it can be used without a guard against the recoil of the bowstring. It does not differ from the Mpororo bow.

701 expeditionary force against Bassebia, a subchief of Ngurube, the Mutwa from Ndorwa. As a rule, the general pays with his life [687] for a military failure.

Count Von Götzen (2) mentions that men set out for war

2. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 166.

accompanied by their wives, but the women do not take part in the fighting.

726 791 In case of war there must always be a Muhenyi among the troops. He himself is invulnerable, and it is his duty to vilify the enemy and render their weapons harmless. A division accompanied by a Muhenyi [276] must always be victorious. This belief, however, is far too often shattered by the facts. The expedition against Bassebia was defeated, and the Muhenyi who accompanied the column lost his life. This unexpected outcome was explained by the fact that the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, had even greater magicians at his command. The "invulnerable" Bahenyi are still very much feared by everyone and are permitted to commit acts of violence which would not be tolerated for other persons.

727 The trophies brought back to the king from campaigns consist of the heads and genitals of the slain enemies. On the last unsuccessful expedition against the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, no Batwa heads or genitals were captured. In order to cover up [661] their failure and not be ridiculed because they had no trophies, the returning warriors killed a few peaceful farmers who had to sacrifice their heads and genitals to glorify the entrance of the troops into the capital.

In view of the kind of trophies taken, the warriors try to kill their opponents and not take any prisoners. This is probably also tied in with the social organization which does not give rise to a need for slave labor.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

the aggressors at bay. Army herdsmen also lived in the same region. Armies constituted during previous reigns were more likely to be localized in the interior of the country.

Expeditions against neighbouring countries were made. They were prepared by spies' reports. Military chiefs had at their disposal people named *abatasi*. They depended directly on the court and had taken an oath not to betray Ruanda. They were the only ones who could have connexions with foreign governments without committing an offence punishable by death.

There were two kinds of expedition: those planned by the king (*igitero*) and those planned by a military chief. The latter expeditions were short raids which could not last more than two days (*agaterashuma*). A very complicated ritual was observed in the choice of the leader of the expedition (*umugabe w'igitero*). This choice was made after divining operations by means of the viscera of steers and rams. During the battle, the general of the expedition would sit motionless in his headquarters; every move backwards of his would have resulted in his forces' flight.

Some of the warriors (*abakoni*, stick-bearers) had the special charge of capturing cattle. If the expedition was successful, it ended with a celebration lasting several days. During the festivities, rewards and badges of honour were granted, warriors marched off in triumph, and their deeds were hymned and praised in poems.

(*c*) *The herdsmen's section*

The section of herdsmen, as its name suggests, tended the army's cattle. A certain number of herds were regarded as linked to a particular army. The army-chief was also responsible for these cattle and in that capacity he commanded several head herdsmen (*umutware w'inka*, *umutware w'inyambo*).

An army's cattle did not constitute an homogeneous group from the point of view of the rights enjoyed over them by different persons. Four categories of an army's cattle may be distinguished according to the person who had the right of effective disposal of the cattle. By effective disposal is meant here the rights allowing one person to give cattle to another, who then becomes his client. A first category of the army's cattle comprises those of which the mwami had an effective disposal; the other three categories were those in which the rights belonged respectively to the army-chief,

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

conquest: the procession of the victorious warriors, and the recitation of poems telling of the achievements of heroes. The whole country was mystically committed in the expedition through the king, the country's personification, who was magically taking part in it. The king and the queen-mother had (as the expedition leader) to sit motionless during the day of the battle (the army-chief in the field when deciding when to attack had to take into account the space of time necessary for a messenger to reach the court). The secrecy about the expeditions stressed their importance. Even after the battle was over, a messenger was sent to the court who could not tell anything about the expedition except that it was over. Then a few warriors were chosen by the army-chief to go and tell the king—and the king only—the story of the battle.

Ruanda was an aggressive neighbour. Its history, as it appears in the old traditions collected by Father Pagès for instance, is made up of numerous wars of annexation. The Abanyiginia dynasty started from about the centre of the present day Ruanda and expanded their domination progressively.

They were never permanently at peace with their neighbours, and when they had an alliance with some of them it was in order only to be free to concentrate their forces on others. They used any means that could ensure domination. In addition to direct attacks, they interfered in quarrels between smaller neighbours, helping one against the other and then overcoming both; they even murdered the chiefs and kings of small states.[19] Besides the territorial annexations they raided neighbouring countries for captives and cattle.

From the Ruanda point of view this policy of imperialism and looting did not require any rationalization. Their ethical obligations were limited to in-group relationships. One could not kill, steal from, or harm another Ruanda, but a foreigner was fair game. Ruanda people thought themselves to be quite different from people of other tribes, their land was the most important in the world and the country where Imana (the high god) came home every evening and spent the night. It was consistent with these beliefs to use out-group people for one's own purposes without the need for further justification.

The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in its

[19] See for instance Pagès, 1933, pp. 121 f.; pp. 298 ff.; pp. 334 ff.